

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

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DIRECTOR JOHN P. WALTERS ADDRESS TO  
THE HUDSON INSTITUTE

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WEDNESDAY

AUGUST 31, 2005

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The Address was presented at the Hudson  
Institute, 1015 15th Street, N.W., 6th Floor,  
Washington, D.C. at 10:00 a.m.

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P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

(10:06 a.m.)

AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: On behalf of the Hudson Center for Latin American Studies, it is a great pleasure to welcome you to a briefing on Colombia by the Honorable John Walters, Director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, a position known in Washington talk as the drug czar.

A special welcome to Ambassador Duenas from Costa Rico and other distinguished members of the Diplomatic Corps that have joined us this morning.

Today's briefing is part of a series in which we will examine current issues of particular importance in U.S./Latin American relations. Undoubtedly, the struggle against drugs and drug trafficking has a crucial importance to our hemisphere.

It is a struggle for our youth, our peace, and freedom. And yes, it is to safeguard the hard-won gains in democracy achieved by Latin America during the last two decades.

Colombia constitutes a crucial front line in this difficult battle. What happens there is bound to effect the rest of our countries because of the

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1 nefarious influence the illegal drugs consortium has  
2 on our societies and institutions.

3 The United States is Latin America's most  
4 important partner in this multifaceted war. And at  
5 the center of U.S. leadership is our guest speaker  
6 this morning, Director John Walters. We are fortunate  
7 and privileged to host him for such an important  
8 discussion.

9 It is my pleasure now to call on our CEO,  
10 Dr. Ken Weinstein to introduce Directors Walters.  
11 Thank you.

12 HUDSON INSTITUTE REP: Okay. Many thanks,  
13 Ambassador Darenblum.

14 Hudson Institute is truly fortunate to  
15 have someone of your stature, your insight, and your  
16 wit as our Director of Latin American Studies. This  
17 is a new and very active program for Hudson Institute  
18 and we are very grateful to have you with us.

19 I also want to welcome everyone to Hudson  
20 Institute's new headquarters. As you can see, we're  
21 still awaiting the installation of our new audiovisual  
22 equipment and our new furniture.

23 That being said, it is really a great  
24 honor for me to be able to introduce John P. Walters,  
25 the Director of the White House Office of National

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1 Drug Control Policy. As the drug czar, Mr. Walters  
2 coordinates all aspects of federal drug programs and  
3 spending.

4 John was my first boss here in Washington  
5 and someone who -- anyone who has had the real  
6 privilege to work along side of John, you know that  
7 John is someone who teaches you, by example, how to  
8 think about public policy, especially how to maintain  
9 the proper balance between practical challenges and  
10 theoretical insights.

11 A political scientist who taught at  
12 Michigan State University and Boston College, John  
13 combines the moral seriousness and toughness of the  
14 law enforcer with an acute theoretical understanding  
15 of the challenges to individual character in liberal  
16 democratic societies influenced by his long study of  
17 de Tocqueville, Burke, and Rousseau.

18 And as the Cabinet-level drug czar, John  
19 has led the challenge to meet the White House's  
20 aggressive national drug control strategy. Under his  
21 tenure, drug use has dropped to its lowest level since  
22 the early 1990s.

23 Drug interdiction is a key part of this  
24 story. And so today we'll hear about the dramatic  
25 results of counter drug efforts in Colombia.

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1 Ladies and gentlemen, the Director of the  
2 Office of National Drug Control Policy, the Honorable  
3 John P. Walters.

4 (Applause.)

5 DIRECTOR WALTERS: Thank you, Ken. Thank  
6 you all for being here. It is a pleasure for me, as  
7 you heard from that bio, as a recovering academic, to  
8 come back to a place where people spend time -- more  
9 time thinking about what we see and deal with in the  
10 world and helping us to better understand things. We  
11 don't do enough of that and we don't do enough of that  
12 high quality.

13 This is an institution that has a long  
14 history and is starting a new era here. And I'm  
15 pleased to be here at the housewarming for an  
16 opportunity to really think about the challenges that  
17 we face now.

18 The topic of narcotics control, anti-drug  
19 efforts, especially those in Colombia, is not only  
20 timely but it is also, as many of you who have looked  
21 at this know, an area that has been plagued even in  
22 the policies studies areas by shocking degrees of  
23 shallowness and silliness.

24 This is an area that has many people who  
25 otherwise can produce better work talking in quite

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1 dogmatic and unrealistic ways about what is happening,  
2 what can happen, and what should happen. It's partly  
3 because this problem is, of course, tied up with a lot  
4 of social issues, sometimes, personal behavior,  
5 sometimes in the area certainly of foreign policy, it  
6 is tied to terrorism.

7 It's tied to the relationship of rule of  
8 law and societal control. It's tied to issues of  
9 corruption as well as issues of what is the  
10 relationship between security forces and liberty, all  
11 of them controversial. And when you mix them  
12 together, it is not surprising that nerves rather than  
13 more careful, thoughtful forces sometimes come to the  
14 fore.

15 So I guess in keeping with the founding  
16 principle of the Hudson Institute of thinking the  
17 unthinkable, you are willing to come back and take  
18 this seriously. And I appreciate that.

19 I intend my remarks to be quite brief  
20 because I would like to engage in discussion,  
21 questions from people here who have, I know, a variety  
22 of distinguished backgrounds and have thought about  
23 aspects of this that are important. And I'll be happy  
24 to respond to your concerns.

25 I would say briefly, and the reason for my

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1 wanting to talk about this topic is the -- what I  
2 think is the under appreciated, remarkable example of  
3 Colombia. I, as Ken mentioned, served here in  
4 government at the pleasure of serving government back  
5 in the Reagan Administration and President Bush's  
6 father's Administration and now I'm back.

7 So I've looked at the Colombian issue for  
8 the long term, not minute by minute, not yesterday's  
9 newspaper. And I think if you looked either in the  
10 Reagan Administration or frankly in the President's  
11 father's Administration and said Colombia was going to  
12 be where it is today, that would be considered  
13 impossible period.

14 It would not be possible to have a country  
15 that is extending democracy to its borders, providing  
16 opportunity in economic growth, overcoming the threats  
17 of armed groups, and working to actually heal the  
18 society in fundamental ways. That the problem was  
19 considered overwhelming. The forces were considered  
20 to powerful, pushing it apart. And the raw material  
21 to create what now exists in Colombia was not believed  
22 to exist.

23 I think that is an important lesson. But  
24 also the specifics of what is happening in Colombia  
25 are even a more important lesson. And the blindness

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1 to that importance, I think, seriously indicates the  
2 problem of blind spots that ought to worry us in other  
3 parts of policy. And also about our unwillingness, I  
4 think, to fully think through what elements that  
5 others reject really are the cornerstones of very,  
6 very important improvements.

7 What do I mean? Let me talk about the  
8 narrow changes in Colombia since the inauguration of  
9 the current President Uribe in 2002. You hear a lot  
10 about the violence in Colombia still and certainly  
11 there is violence there. But the most astounding fact  
12 for us ought to be the change in the level of violence  
13 and suffering and human rights violations in Colombia.

14 In 2002, there were an estimated 92,500  
15 displaced families in Colombia. Today there is an  
16 estimated 37,800, remarkable decline in the midst of  
17 considerable fighting. In that same period,  
18 kidnappings are down nationwide 35 percent, homicides  
19 down 15 percent, the number of peoples that are  
20 victims of massacres in terms of violations of rights  
21 down 52 percent, terror cases down 44 percent.

22 All of Colombia's 1,098 municipalities now  
23 have government presence, police presence, rule of law  
24 courts, efforts to bring social services and education  
25 to those municipalities for the first time, I believe,

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1 in modern memory.

2 Now only have human rights offenses been  
3 cut but less than two percent of those allegations of  
4 human rights violations reported to the Ombudsman  
5 Office for Human Rights in Colombia are from  
6 government security forces. There have been no  
7 allegations of abuse against U.S.-trained units in  
8 Colombia.

9 At the same time, economic growth for  
10 Colombia in 2002 was about 1.9 percent. In 2004, it  
11 is 4.1 percent. The first quarter that we have for  
12 2005, it's 3.6 percent.

13 Unemployment has gone from 16 percent in  
14 2002 estimated to 12.5. Foreign investment, just over  
15 the last year from 2003 to 2004 is up 34 percent in  
16 the context of fighting a war, in the context of  
17 building institutions of integrity, in the context of  
18 taking on some of the toughest challenges where  
19 criminal groups threatened and declared in the last  
20 decade war against the government because of their  
21 power.

22 In the course of wringing out that  
23 trouble, economic growth, better rights environment  
24 than I believe any nation on Earth, frankly, has had  
25 in terms of improvement in the last two years, have

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1 occurred. Yet the example of Colombia, as I say, is  
2 not talked about with, I think, the focus and  
3 attention it deserves.

4 Why are we so involved? Well, obviously,  
5 Latin America is always important for the United  
6 States. It is the hemisphere that we live in. We  
7 have trade. We have obvious connections between our  
8 populations that have grown and continue to grow over  
9 the years.

10 But also illegal drugs has been a major  
11 source of the United States' interest in this country  
12 because of the terrible, destructive consequences,  
13 particularly of cocaine, in American cities over the  
14 last 15 years or more.

15 What's happened in that regard? Well, the  
16 arguments, as you know, have been well, you can't  
17 really control these things or that, more importantly,  
18 that the instruments of control, the use of law  
19 enforcement or the use of security forces, create  
20 equal or greater harms than the harm of the substances  
21 themselves when taken realistically as a whole.

22 I think it is important to note that the  
23 people who make those kinds of arguments do not live  
24 in the countries effected by drugs and even those  
25 countries that are effected more in terms of

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1 consumption than in the violent organizations that  
2 produce and traffic.

3 When I meet with people in the  
4 international bodies of the U.N. and others, it is  
5 quite surprising to see the indignation of people  
6 living in Africa, and Asia, and Latin America toward  
7 many who, in some cases, consider themselves to be  
8 arguing from not only intellectually but morally  
9 superior position in Europe and some people that are  
10 from this country that we ought to allow people to use  
11 more of these dangerous, addictive substances.

12 They consider that to be ludicrous. And  
13 they do for good reason. Even with all of our  
14 resources, the harm that these do to individuals are  
15 difficult for us to bear the costs of.

16 For countries that don't have those  
17 resources, huge populations that are subject to  
18 addiction and subject to falling into criminal  
19 activity, the consequences of not only the violence  
20 associated with trafficking but the enhancement to  
21 violence that the people under the influence of these  
22 drugs are frequently involved in are catastrophic.  
23 They are devastating to these countries.

24 What has President Uribe has done in  
25 combating these that, I think, is an example. Well,

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1 first of all, he has set down a clear statement of  
2 what the policy of the country is because the view of  
3 many is, and I think makes this issue subject to some  
4 cynicism is, a discussion of measures that are not in  
5 keeping with the magnitude of the problem.

6 That this is one of those policy areas,  
7 there are others, where we are hampered in  
8 effectiveness by frequently resorting to gestures  
9 rather than thorough-going efforts that are thought  
10 through and are likely to make a difference and are  
11 adjusted when they need to be adjusted to make sure  
12 they presume that difference.

13 He said there are going to be no drugs in  
14 Colombia. Now does anyone think that we can actually,  
15 you know, every square inch of any place? No. But  
16 the issue has been in the past to make an  
17 accommodation. To reduce and call it a win and go  
18 home. That is not going to happen here.

19 We're going to go after all the parts of  
20 this that include the violence that this feeds, to the  
21 destruction in Colombia, to the twisting of the  
22 economy, to the corruption of institutions, to the  
23 distortion of legitimate activity.

24 And for the first time, I think he was a  
25 president that also said in addition to bringing

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1 security and rule of law, I want to bring jobs, I want  
2 to bring courts that really are effective and aren't  
3 corrupt and aren't locked in bureaucratic morass that  
4 can't make decisions. I'm going to change the  
5 judicial system so that it is providing justice.

6 I'm going to bring education and  
7 healthcare, too. That I'm going to make the country  
8 of the people of Colombia. And not just of the people  
9 who hold the institutions of power, which has been a  
10 problem in some parts of the country, in some  
11 countries throughout this hemisphere and others.

12 And even when he said those things and  
13 many people didn't believe him, it was important for  
14 him to, I believe, state clearly what the objectives  
15 and what he was going to hold himself and his  
16 administration accountable for.

17 Because even though I believe almost  
18 everybody said he could not do what he said he was  
19 going to do, including people who provided advice to  
20 the federal government of the United States said that  
21 this man cannot possibly raise the taxes, implement  
22 policies on these vast scales, maintain security  
23 forces without gross violations of human rights, he  
24 has done all of them.

25 Everything that he said he was going to

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1 do, he's done. Some of them he has done to a greater  
2 extent than he even promised. And he's done them in  
3 the ways that he said he was going to do them.

4 Now is a remarkable individual. There's  
5 no question about that, you know he burns out staff  
6 because he works seven days a week.

7 He has what some consider to be the  
8 annoying -- I consider to be the essential element of  
9 calling up commanders of military and police posts  
10 from his office and saying I'm reading your monthly  
11 report and you're not performing up the level. You  
12 know what's the matter? Get on it. Or the next time  
13 you're gone. Accountability that people don't, you  
14 know, don't sit in the bureaucracy and are allowed to  
15 hold positions of responsibility and trust and not  
16 carry them out.

17 The consequences of this have been, of  
18 course, far reaching for not only the people of  
19 Colombia but I think for obviously the consequences  
20 for the region. One, Colombia is a stable country  
21 today. It was going to lose its stability to crime  
22 and violence. Armed groups, as you know, on the left,  
23 on the right. In fact, armed groups had bred armed  
24 groups to protect citizens where government had  
25 failed.

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1           Those groups are today, instead of vying  
2       for parts of the country to take over, instead of  
3       declaring war on the country as criminal groups did in  
4       the past, they are seeking an exit strategy. They are  
5       seeking peace. They are demobilizing. They are  
6       facing desertions. And they are facing loss of  
7       resources because of the far-reaching implications of  
8       the policy of the government.

9           In addition, he's brought confidence back  
10      to Colombia. I don't believe any modern president in  
11      the region -- I think in the world wouldn't be too  
12      much to say -- has maintained a popularity rating that  
13      he has maintained in that country because not only has  
14      he been seen to do things that make a difference, he's  
15      been understood by the people of the country to be  
16      doing things that make a positive difference in their  
17      lives.

18           And, in addition, he has sought to make  
19      sure that he maintains contact with the people. He  
20      has a somewhat dangerous practice of going around the  
21      country every week and meeting in towns with masses of  
22      people who bring their concerns to the president. And  
23      for hours and hours and hours.

24           And he asks that those concerns be -- he's  
25      reconnecting the government institutions and the

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1 people who populate them to the people of Colombia.  
2 If anything, I would say it is a kind of re-  
3 ratification of the social contract.

4 What do I think that means for larger  
5 issues of policy? Well, first I think it shows the  
6 importance of leadership that begins with basic needs  
7 for stability and justice and makes them something you  
8 implement in a reasonably short period of time,  
9 shorter than most countries and most political systems  
10 want to allow.

11 Secondly, I think it is very important to  
12 see that he has made an argument that has been  
13 distasteful to many in Europe and some in Latin  
14 America and some in the United States that a strong,  
15 security force is good for democracy and not a threat  
16 for democracy. That is a continuing debate about  
17 whether or not the instruments of security are  
18 violators of human rights or protectors of human  
19 rights. And this has always been, to some degree, a  
20 struggle.

21 But he has insisted on this. And he has  
22 made it a reality in profound ways. And he has shown  
23 that a stronger, larger police and military  
24 establishment, tied to training that respects human  
25 rights and a process that will allow for effective law

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1 enforcement is good for not only the condition in  
2 which people live but for the economic growth and  
3 future of a country.

4 In addition, he has dealt with the  
5 extremely difficult problem that drugs as well, I  
6 think, terror presents us with in an important way  
7 that has far-reaching lessons.

8 No president in Colombia has extradited  
9 more individuals to the United States than President  
10 Uribe. His government has sped up the extradition  
11 process where we have charged individuals who  
12 committed crimes against the United States. And he  
13 has allowed them, after processes in Colombia, to be  
14 relatively rapidly extradited to the United States to  
15 be adjudicated.

16 What's happened in the past is many  
17 countries that have faced this, not only in this  
18 hemisphere but in others and continue you to face it,  
19 is that the power of armed criminal groups, or armed  
20 groups period, overwhelms a weakened judicial system  
21 by corruption and threat, killing prosecutors and  
22 judges, and witnesses, and failing to allow fledgling  
23 institutions to have the strength that you need  
24 against maximum pressure from forces of lawlessness  
25 and violence.

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1           He has used this tool. And I think it  
2 stands in sharp contrast to countries that are still  
3 struggling with how do we either bring to justice,  
4 hold or adjudicate and really punish and prevent from  
5 being sources of fundamental threats to the regime,  
6 individuals who have violence, who have money, and are  
7 ruthless.

8           It is not easy, as you can imagine, to  
9 extradite your nations to a foreign country to be  
10 judged and to be punished. Every nation wants to make  
11 as much as possible the instruments of justice be  
12 something that is, you know, a jury of your peers. It  
13 happens at home. And as he stands these institutions  
14 up, it is not easy to maintain extradition.

15           But it has been vitally important. And it  
16 has changed the face -- in the past there have been  
17 times when this was not the case and where it has been  
18 undermined in Colombia, and individuals then became  
19 desperate behind bars and became more violent and were  
20 successful in upending institutions of justice.

21           In terms of the overall drug trade, his  
22 efforts at eradication, of removing drug crops, of  
23 insisting that there has to be a combination of  
24 opportunities for development and very importantly,  
25 there must be increased risk and intolerance of the

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1 production of drugs.

2 There is a kind of silly debate that goes  
3 on in many policy areas and must too extensively about  
4 whether or not the way out of the problem of drugs is  
5 simply development. We all like to talk about police  
6 or punishment, their interdiction or forces of  
7 security, that the problem is there isn't enough  
8 opportunity.

9 Now the reality here is we have to  
10 eradicate drugs in California. We do not believe that  
11 that is because there needs to be an alternative  
12 development program in California. We believe that's  
13 because there is areas where we need to have better  
14 control and we need to prevent this from happening.

15 And that's the way President Uribe has  
16 acted. He has done what few other countries have done  
17 in history. He has used aerial spraying to eradicate  
18 both coca and opium poppy.

19 What's been the result? Well, over a  
20 third reduction in overall cultivation. It's  
21 important for those of you who don't follow this all  
22 the time to know that the largest area of cultivation  
23 had been, in the past, focused in Peru and Bolivia.

24 We went 15 years ago. Through a variety  
25 of events which we can talk about in the question and

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1 answer but are not pertinent here, that changed and  
2 cultivation shifted to Colombia over the last ten  
3 years roughly. And huge cultivation -- 75 percent of  
4 the cultivation of coca, which makes the source  
5 organic for cocaine in the world, was in Colombia.

6 It was in areas frequently controlled by,  
7 including operated by armed groups which gained money.

8 There's still some of that going on in some of the  
9 areas that are still under struggle.

10 And it became a -- Colombia was always a  
11 place where the product was shipped, sometimes for  
12 processing, to connect to markets in the United  
13 States, which actually began with the old Colombian  
14 markets here for marijuana in the early '80s. The same  
15 organized groups then began producing first cocaine  
16 and then heroin through planting of opium poppy.

17 What President Uribe did is reduce by a  
18 third what had become a kind of threatened tidal wave  
19 in the mid-'90s of actually more cocaine than world  
20 consumption really demanded. That's why you saw  
21 inroads of cocaine begin to move in Europe, into parts  
22 of even Africa and Asia, efforts to expand markets  
23 into Brazil, which is now estimated to be the third  
24 largest consumer of cocaine.

25 And while we previously had Asian heroin

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1 as a principle source, especially on the East Coast  
2 where there is the largest number of heroin-addicted  
3 individuals, and has been for decades, the Colombians  
4 undercut that market with bringing in chemists or  
5 cooks from Asia to learn how to make highly pure  
6 heroin and to ship it in a way that would allow it to  
7 compete successfully through their networks and cost  
8 on the East Coast.

9 East of the Mississippi for a number of  
10 years now, the heroin market has been dominated 95-  
11 plus percent by Colombian heroin. On the West Coast,  
12 Mexican black tar and brown heroin has dominated in  
13 recent years. But there has been a real bifurcated  
14 market.

15 What's happened in those areas? Not only  
16 has President Uribe cut down the cultivation of coca  
17 dramatically and the profits have effected the  
18 individual armed groups, we know, and that is a  
19 process, however, that is ongoing, but he's also  
20 attacked opium poppy, which was much smaller.  
21 Estimates are about 100 -- our estimate is about  
22 100,000 hectares of coca cultivation, about 30 to 40 -  
23 - 20 to 40,000 hectares -- excuse me, 2,000 to 4,000  
24 hectares of opium, much smaller problem.

25 But the most immediate effect that we've

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1 even seen downstream already now is with heroin. We  
2 just released a DEA report which is an ongoing report  
3 to analyze the domestic availability of drugs. This  
4 is the Domestic Monitoring Program Report for 2004 on  
5 Heroin.

6 South American heroin samples between 2003  
7 and 2004 declined in purity by 22 percent and  
8 increased in cost per pure gram by 30 percent in one  
9 year. The effect of efforts to control manufacture at  
10 the source have had substantial changes for cities  
11 like New York, Baltimore, Washington, Boston, even  
12 Chicago.

13 And those have been the result of dramatic  
14 reductions. Also efforts to combine the effect of our  
15 additional enforcement measures on the transit of  
16 these drugs into the United States. A smaller drug,  
17 the bulk -- in fact almost the entire market is in the  
18 United States, in this case, and you begin to see the  
19 changes on the streets in the United States already.

20 So this partnership, we believe, has  
21 worked two ways obviously. But it is also, I think,  
22 important to recognize that the effectiveness of this  
23 partnership depends on Colombia. It's not only, you  
24 know, something we ought to say to be polite. It's  
25 the fundamental truth. Leadership in the country

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1 makes a fundamental difference.

2 The understanding, and direction, and  
3 drive of that leadership makes a fundamental  
4 difference. And, I think importantly, what we're  
5 asked to support and what the actions -- the  
6 combination of actions are are critical.

7 It requires both law enforcement and rule  
8 of law and economic development. It requires both a  
9 concern for courts and adjudication that may include  
10 things such as extradition to make them work. And it  
11 requires a presence of government in its capacities as  
12 concern for education, concern for health, concern for  
13 the well-being of people, as well as for security and  
14 the connection of these populations.

15 Now that, of course, is not easy. But the  
16 other example that President Uribe, I think, and the  
17 people -- the great people working with him, have  
18 shown is it is doable. It is doable with the right  
19 leadership, doing the right things, in the right  
20 place, in reasonable amounts of time.

21 And I think when the alternatives are  
22 presented to many of either continued corruption, of  
23 half measures, of radicalism, of new forms in a new  
24 environment of criminal activity, of accepting the  
25 domination or the rule of Mafias in countries in this

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1 hemisphere and others, I think it is important that we  
2 spend a bit more time focusing on both the real costs  
3 of that and be as clear as we can be in our public  
4 debate but also on the real combination of instruments  
5 and ingredients that are necessary to turn that  
6 around.

7 I don't think that is clear enough. I  
8 don't think it is stated clearly enough. And I think  
9 it's also, in the case of the consequences that drugs  
10 may play as a part of this, I think it is also very  
11 important for us to be a little clearer in stating it  
12 is not about whether or not you like people to have  
13 the ability to recreate chemically or not. The drug  
14 problem does require, I think, that we be serious.

15 It is antithetical to freedom. It takes  
16 the individual freedom and turns it into self-  
17 destruction.

18 People don't die over these freedoms, this  
19 liberty, for the sake of allowing their citizens to be  
20 victimized even if they are self-victimizers on a  
21 massive scale. It's the turning inside out of the  
22 very principles that we now hold dearly and we are  
23 aware people are making sacrifices to allow us to  
24 keep.

25 So I think Colombia has a lot to teach us.

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1 And it is underappreciated both in the area studies  
2 but also, I think, in terms of security, economy, and  
3 in terms of how we understand the future for the  
4 hemisphere. That there are people who want to focus  
5 on one thing. If we just have economic development,  
6 if we just have free trade, we're going to have all  
7 the things we want fall into place.

8 Well, obviously you have to have  
9 institutions of law. You have to be able to overcome  
10 Mafias. You have to be able to overcome corruption.  
11 And free trade is an important tool but it is one tool  
12 in that process. And at the same time, there have to  
13 be, obviously, security forces that can and do support  
14 human rights and not violate them.

15 And I think that the unwillingness to look  
16 more seriously at the example of Colombia really shows  
17 a blind spot in the way many of those who discuss  
18 these issues come to them from a kind of position of  
19 bigotry that, I really think -- I hope we will reflect  
20 on because if we don't, I think our policymaking, the  
21 implications of leadership that many look to for  
22 guidance, many come to our country for the benefit of  
23 its educational institutions and its policy debates,  
24 we'll be shortchanging them.

25 I've already talked longer than I wanted

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1 to. Let me take some questions from you on any of  
2 these or other topics.

3 (Applause.)

4 AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: We would appreciate  
5 those asking questions to identify themselves, name  
6 and affiliation.

7 MR. HARMON: Thank you, sir, I'm Chris  
8 Harmon, with Marine Corps University.

9 I appreciated the indicators of progress.  
10 If I could ask about one interesting exception to  
11 that.

12 How was it that those three IRA guys got  
13 out of jail and back to Ireland? And related, do you  
14 think any of their collaboration in Colombia had to do  
15 with narcotics?

16 DIRECTOR WALTERS: Well, I don't -- I mean  
17 -- I'll confess. I'll use a old line from my former  
18 boss, Bill Bennett, you know, I don't do retail. So I  
19 do think that specific cases where people who are  
20 involved in criminal acts get away is bad. I don't  
21 know the specifics, frankly, of exactly how they  
22 escaped.

23 I don't think there is any question that  
24 -- for those that have argued that, well, the link  
25 that is frequently discussed that we've actually tried

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1 to help people become aware of that are users and  
2 supporters between drugs and terror is you know, well,  
3 that's not really serious.

4 I think the reality here is, from our own  
5 neighborhoods in the United States that are effected  
6 to countries like Colombia and Mexico, Peru and  
7 Bolivia, and others, to Afghanistan, not all the ties  
8 are to al Qaeda and necessarily global terrorist  
9 groups.

10 But this lawlessness is tied to attacks on  
11 fundamental institutions of justice because substance  
12 abuse has to use violence because it is antithetical  
13 to rule of law, to democratic states, to freedom and  
14 individual well-being. So it has to be an enemy of  
15 institutions that are for democracy and freedom and  
16 liberty.

17 And the only way it can protect itself  
18 from that enemy is through violence and intimidation.

19 So it is not an accident that criminal groups are  
20 reaching out. We try to monitor how far and how well  
21 linked they are.

22 We are obviously concerned that at the  
23 decline of the Cold War and as we try to combat state  
24 sponsorship of terror, that the money to have guys  
25 carry guns and walk around and do nothing else but

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1 engage in violence and terror, the money has to come  
2 from somewhere. And increasingly, it can come from  
3 either individuals, small groups of individuals, or  
4 criminal enterprises.

5 Drugs is a major, obvious source of that  
6 money. It has been used in the past by groups to  
7 support their activities. It continues to be used in  
8 those ways. And that these forces can become not only  
9 destabilizing in places like Colombia and Mexico, but  
10 in countries throughout the world.

11 Now there are other criminal enterprises,  
12 kidnapping, bank robbing, forgery, and other things  
13 that are also used. But, you know, drug trafficking  
14 throws off a lot of revenue. And so it is  
15 increasingly something that if you are good at  
16 smuggling, you're good at money laundering, you're  
17 good at moving people or things, you can make -- you  
18 can create a threat for us and for democratic  
19 countries in a variety of dimensions.

20 So I think the link between these  
21 individuals is something we are worried about. But,  
22 you know, those links vary at different times. And  
23 they require careful monitoring.

24 MR. NOELL: Thank you. Preston Noell with  
25 Tradition, Family, and Property. I was surprised not

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1 to hear you mention the FARC at all in your  
2 presentation. I wonder if they are no longer a factor  
3 in Colombia.

4 DIRECTOR WALTERS: When I said armed  
5 groups, I meant the FARC. But no, they are a factor.

6 I think the -- look, there are some things --  
7 sometimes, you know, simple things are illustrative of  
8 very deep changes. I had the honor to represent the  
9 United States at the inauguration of President Uribe.

10 At that inauguration, you may remember, the FARC  
11 mortared the site where the inauguration took place.  
12 They wanted to mortar more but it had a little  
13 technical problem.

14 Now, after a relatively short period of  
15 time, the FARC, which had the boldness at that point  
16 not only to have its own safe haven, it was carving up  
17 the country and it was bold enough to attack the  
18 institution of the presidency of the country and try  
19 to kill him, is now regularly in discussions about  
20 ending and getting out of the war.

21 There is no better sign that not only on  
22 the paramilitary side on the right but the FARC on the  
23 left is, the constant theme of the last 18 months is  
24 peace talks: when, where, how, what are the terms  
25 going to be? That, you know, nobody talks about exit

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1 strategies when they think they are winning. They  
2 talk about exit strategies when they think they are  
3 losing.

4 If you are buying, you know, FARC futures,  
5 that market is tanking. And I think the reason for  
6 that is because of the effectiveness of what President  
7 Uribe has done.

8 Now are we there yet? No. Is it going to  
9 be difficult? Yes. Is it going to be something that  
10 gets done in the current term of President Uribe? I  
11 don't know. But I do think that the ability to see  
12 this as, you know, an important need to shrink the  
13 resources, shrink the territory, attack the  
14 infrastructure, of insisting that there be a real  
15 stoppage of violence and attacks as a prelude to  
16 serious discussions is important.

17 It is controversial. It's difficult in  
18 these environments to have these kinds of things. And  
19 to make decisions on what you compromise on as you  
20 get down to the final part. But you cannot help but  
21 be struck by the fact that from, you know, shelling  
22 the inauguration to seeking a way of giving up is a  
23 big change.

24 MS. SCHOTT: Thank you. Sonya Schott with  
25 the Radio Venezuela Vallera.

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1           Mr. Walters, I would like to know what  
2           will be the future of the Plan Colombia because I know  
3           it was facing some financial problems. It is over and  
4           the second one is in Venezuela when it declared its  
5           cooperation with the DEA, the Drug Enforcement Agency.  
6           but President Chavas still said that he is able to  
7           cooperate, to work together with the U.S. I would  
8           like to hear some comments from you. Thank you.

9           DIRECTOR WALTERS: Yes, well the original  
10          presentation of Plan Colombia, you are right, had a  
11          certain number of years and dollars. And that  
12          original time frame has ended. President Bush and  
13          President Uribe have made clear our intention to  
14          continue to support Colombia in this.

15          We have received, I think, basically the  
16          appropriation we asked for for next year before  
17          Congress, it's not done yet, but I'm pleased that  
18          Congress has been forthcoming on that money. And  
19          we're continuing to support the efforts in Colombia.

20          I think it is very important to say, of  
21          course, what you know, which is the bulk of this  
22          effort is carried on by the Colombians. I think  
23          sometimes when we talk about these things in  
24          Washington, we believe that, you know, we do  
25          everything. And why don't the partners, since it is

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1 their country, do more.

2 President Uribe has raised more money than  
3 people thought. Obviously the people on the front  
4 lines who continue to fight and die are Colombians.  
5 And we've had some losses and we have some, obviously  
6 people in harm's way with them.

7 And it has been -- but there is no  
8 question that the burden is being carried by  
9 Colombians. We intend to -- we're working with the  
10 Colombian government now to systematically look at  
11 continued programming for additional years.

12 But we're not walking away. I don't think  
13 that is the move in Congress. Obviously there's a lot  
14 of pressures in a competitive budget environment. But  
15 I think that the results -- if you're going to fund on  
16 the basis of results, the results in Colombia are  
17 spectacular frankly. And I think the issue is how do  
18 we make sure that we also get this to a place where it  
19 capitalizes on what is possible here.

20 There's also, I think, a tendency in our  
21 policy debates on some of these areas and others to  
22 say well once we start making progress, let's stop.  
23 It's a problem of drugs. It's a problem of other  
24 areas. The desire kind of not to do the hard work as  
25 quickly as you can avoid doing the hard work, kind of

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1 Tom Sawyer mentality, is a mentality of governments as  
2 well as individuals.

3 So -- but it is important, I think, for us  
4 who have positions of responsibility to try to make  
5 sure we combat that by explaining what is at stake and  
6 what is really involved here.

7 So in terms of Venezuela, sure, we've had  
8 problems. You know, I don't think that's a secret.  
9 And the problem of working with President Chavas is  
10 serious and is ongoing. But, you know, we have, you  
11 know, had the decline in cooperation. It is troubling  
12 as is some of the other parts of the relationship that  
13 I'm not responsible for.

14 But, you know, we will try to do what we  
15 can here because there is a lot at stake. And, you  
16 know, DEA has had the ability at times to work in  
17 environments where other parts of the government have  
18 not been able to work as aggressively.

19 But there's been no question, there's been  
20 a degrading, a serious degrading of cooperation to the  
21 detriment, I think, of both the rest of the hemisphere  
22 and Venezuela and the United States.

23 AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: Mr. Vargas Llosa?

24 MR. LLOSA: Alvaro Vargas Llosa with the  
25 Independent Institute. Two questions. The latest

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1 figures by the U.N. seem to indicate that the progress  
2 made in Colombia might have been offset by a big spike  
3 in the cultivation in Peru and Bolivia, about 14  
4 percent of Peru, I think. So what is your reaction to  
5 that?

6 And is there any evidence that the flow of  
7 drugs into the United States, quite apart from the  
8 eradication efforts in Colombia, is paying off? Is  
9 that -- the effort here with the trade, is that  
10 producing any results? Any indication that there has  
11 been a kind of sort of shift away from the market here  
12 towards other markets maybe in Europe or other parts  
13 of the world?

14 DIRECTOR WALTERS: Yes, important point.  
15 On the U.N. question, let me explain for those who may  
16 not be knowledgeable of all these.

17 In terms of worldwide drug production,  
18 there essentially are two sources of estimates of  
19 production. One is the United States government and  
20 the agencies that come together from our government to  
21 annually produce a report mandated by Congress of what  
22 has been happening. We use all of the information we  
23 have at our disposal to create those estimates,  
24 including information supplied by the countries.

25 There is a second estimate that is

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1 produced from some countries by the United Nations,  
2 the U.N. Office of Drugs and Crime. And those  
3 estimates are done through means at their disposal.  
4 Those estimates are not the same.

5 And this is one of those cases where we  
6 believe and we have reported minimal increased  
7 cultivation in Peru and Bolivia, a net decline in the  
8 region over the last several years. And the U.N. has  
9 found relatively -- I would say modest but measurable  
10 and significant increase in Peru and Bolivia.

11 I would say having looked at the sources  
12 of both reports, we have a lot more capacity to  
13 provide those estimates than the U.N. does. And I  
14 don't think, when you think about it, that's not going  
15 to be obvious.

16 But, again, the estimation process is an  
17 estimate. I mean you do sampling. You do take a  
18 variety of sources. You try to get to the bottom.  
19 But I wouldn't say that it should be confused with the  
20 census or, you know, everybody -- we have perfect  
21 knowledge of these things. You always have to be  
22 willing to live in the reality of what we can measure  
23 and estimate in a covert criminal activity in a far-  
24 flung environment.

25 But I don't believe there has been the so-

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1 called balloon effect. And I don't think that's a  
2 serious threat at this point although we are vigilant  
3 about that. And obviously there are problems in  
4 continuing the programs. We work carefully with the  
5 governments of Peru and Bolivia who are having their  
6 own issues with stability and some difficulty here.

7 So a lot of hard work goes into it by them  
8 and by people here and some others who try to help us  
9 on this regard.

10 In terms of the flow, I mentioned that the  
11 issue always is, I think fairly, okay, can we actually  
12 provide enough difference in the source to effect  
13 availability here because that's what supply ideally  
14 does to make the difference in drug use in the drug  
15 problem in the United States.

16 As I said, we now see dramatic changes in  
17 the availability of Colombia-based heroin over the  
18 last -- and, in fact, that has contributed to the  
19 actual decline over the last four years of heroin  
20 availability in the United States.

21 In terms of cocaine, we are monitoring  
22 this carefully. We haven't seen yet the same changes  
23 here. But, again, I will point out that where we had  
24 an estimate of about 18 metric tons of heroin from  
25 Colombia, we have hundreds of metric tons of cocaine

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1 going to multiple markets that we do not, and they do  
2 not measure carefully: Brazil, Europe, other parts of  
3 the world.

4 Consumption in the region is, we know,  
5 significant. And we can't measure it. There could be  
6 efforts to shift in those markets that would not yet  
7 be fully detectable to us.

8 But, yes, our goal is, through a  
9 combination of source activity, criminal  
10 investigations, interdictions which have been at a  
11 record rate because of the sharing of information. In  
12 fact, I believe this month alone, I got a report this  
13 morning, the total for August is 50 metric tons of  
14 cocaine have been seized.

15 The view that we basically, you know, we  
16 seize ten percent has, for the last several years,  
17 been remarkably anachronistic. We have the capacity,  
18 through the information that is being shared and  
19 through a lot of hard work of people that are in  
20 institutions that are under stress for other duties,  
21 been creating enormous losses not only in the fields  
22 but in the transportation pipeline of cocaine.

23 So we hope and we anticipate that -- and  
24 the goal of this is obviously to reduce availability  
25 here. We know that even before that happens, what

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1 will happen is it will drive up and drive down --  
2 drive up the operating cost and drive down the profits  
3 to those armed groups and those criminal actors that  
4 are involved.

5 I mean there is no question that some of  
6 the desertions in regard to the FARC, the ELN, the AUC  
7 have been accompanying with reports that, you know,  
8 they can't food, they can't get conditions, they can't  
9 get paid. There is no question that the pressure that  
10 the Colombian government from its own borders out,  
11 with our cooperation and others, has had an effect on  
12 their ability to finance them.

13 So I think it is very important that we  
14 also keep the pressure on. But we're watching this.  
15 And the goal is, obviously, to change the worldwide  
16 availability of cocaine. And this is a historic  
17 opportunity to do so.

18 AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: Two more questions.  
19 The gentleman here.

20 MR. MERAZ: Thank you, Mr. Walters. I'm  
21 Gregorio Meraz from Televisia News Network from  
22 Mexico.

23 We have seen an increasing number of  
24 executions all over Mexico recently in regards with  
25 narcotic traffic. Do you see any parallel with the

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1 situation in Colombia when the authorities started to  
2 fight the drug cartels? And do you believe this  
3 situation is maybe getting out of control in Mexico?

4 DIRECTOR WALTERS: I don't think the  
5 situation is out of control in Mexico. Obviously we  
6 are doing everything we can to support President Fox's  
7 government in trying to attack this problem.

8 As you know, we have been clear that what,  
9 in part, happened over the last couple of decades for  
10 those of you that aren't involved in this is you will  
11 remember the news reports of Pablo Escobar and the  
12 Medellin and the Cali Cartel, the most powerful men  
13 in the world in the mid-"80s. Could buy or kill anyone  
14 anywhere on the globe. Well, he's, of course, dead  
15 and most of the people who worked with him are either  
16 dead or in jail through a lot of hard work and frankly  
17 a lot of sacrifice.

18 The current violence in Colombia, the  
19 groups are serious but they are nonetheless actually a  
20 somewhat diminished capacity from what there was 10 or  
21 15 years ago.

22 And that shift has happened through the  
23 more prominent movement of Mexican criminal  
24 organizations into receiving drugs from principally  
25 Colombia but not just Colombia, manufacturing and

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1 producing heroin and marijuana and methamphetamine now  
2 in Mexico and distributing it through Mexican-based  
3 networks in the United States. Their networks have  
4 replaced the old Colombian networks that were  
5 originally built on marijuana to distribute multiple  
6 drugs.

7 So it has been the power of these groups  
8 is -- what I'm getting at is the direct result of  
9 dollars of United States citizens buying drugs.

10 We have created the power of groups who,  
11 today, are one, I think, the principle threats to rule  
12 of law in Mexico. And we have been working with  
13 President Fox in his unprecedented effort to build  
14 institutions that can begin to deal with them.

15 Ironically, it is probable that some of  
16 the violence is the result of the blows he has given  
17 to destabilize some of those organizations. You know  
18 the most ruthless organized crime is at its strength  
19 relatively stable. You can look at the Soviet Union,  
20 I would say, is the largest example of organized crime  
21 in my lifetime.

22 But, you know, when you have large  
23 criminal groups, you know when they are able to kind  
24 of have territory, have control, make deals, they are  
25 relatively stable.

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1                   In times of transition, there can be  
2                   remarkable violence, whether that if forced on the  
3                   state or whether that is the removal of rivals whose  
4                   territories become a source of competition. That's  
5                   obviously happening in parts of Mexico. And there  
6                   have been these attacks and murders of various groups.

7                   It is troubling. It is probably a  
8                   necessary stage to some degree. But obviously  
9                   everybody wants it to end by bringing these people to  
10                  justice.

11                  And important contrast that we have with  
12                  Colombia and Mexico has been the obstacles in the  
13                  Mexican law that prevent extradition. We understand  
14                  and we certainly obviously respect the sovereignty of  
15                  Mexico.

16                  But I think it is an important example of  
17                  the problem of having incredibly violent and wealthy  
18                  and powerful people who can attack institutions of  
19                  justice when they are vulnerable.

20                  So we have been working with Mexico to try  
21                  to overcome these obstacles, to try to help and bring  
22                  some of these people out. And we continue to do that.

23                  I think that would be something that if we  
24                  could get there would have an enormously beneficial  
25                  effect on the ability of these individuals to continue

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1 to be a threat. But that will depend on decisions by  
2 authorities in Mexico.

3 But yes, I think they are good under  
4 pressure -- and in the meantime, what we're trying to  
5 also do that I think is very important is where these  
6 substances come from outside of Mexico, obviously in  
7 Colombia and other places, is attack it there and  
8 attack the networks that provide the resources and  
9 retailing in the United States.

10 We're trying to work more aggressively at  
11 the border as well to make all the stages of  
12 vulnerability as capable of being exploited as we can.

13 MR. MERAZ: Do you see any parallels with  
14 Colombia?

15 DIRECTOR WALTERS: Well, I don't think  
16 there is any question that the power of these groups  
17 and, again, the necessity that these groups attack  
18 institutions of law and democratic government, they  
19 have to. They have to try to corrupt those  
20 institutions. They have to prevent them.

21 Because look, no society -- Mexico also  
22 faces another, I think, more important problem in some  
23 dimensions than Colombia faces. That is domestic  
24 consumption. Over the last ten years, consumption  
25 inside Mexico of methamphetamine, of marijuana, of

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1 cocaine, of heroin has increased.

2 I've visited treatment centers. We have a  
3 much more sophisticated relationship with Mexico than  
4 many countries of the world in terms of demand  
5 reduction technology and treatment and prevention  
6 programs that have been built in Mexico.

7 But that's because of the, you know, the  
8 fact that these substances are available there, that  
9 there is marketing both around that transit as well as  
10 the movement of those drugs into the United States.

11 So, yes, I think we're at a very critical  
12 point in Mexico. And it is at a difficult time going  
13 through an election and other things where the  
14 institutional capacities that have been built are  
15 going to be tested.

16 We will continue to support President Fox  
17 and the people who are in those institutions as we  
18 have. We are looking for ways to make it stronger  
19 because this is a horrible suffering for Mexico. And  
20 obviously it is a threat to us.

21 AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: Director Walters  
22 will take one more question. The gentleman here?  
23 Yes.

24 MR. TREE: Director Walters, my name is  
25 Sanho Tree from the Institute for Policy Studies on

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1 drug policy issues. I agree with your statement that  
2 poverty isn't the only reason for these things. But  
3 in places like Putumayo where I spend a lot of time in  
4 southern Colombia, poverty is a significant factor.  
5 It is about two-thirds of the population lives below  
6 the official poverty line.

7 And the infrastructure there is so poor  
8 and the soil is so poor that it can't possibly support  
9 a population of more than 320,000 people on a legal  
10 economy.

11 And so my question is with all the  
12 fumigation that has happened, and I've been on  
13 countless farms that have been destroyed both growing  
14 coca and farms that grew absolutely no coca, once  
15 these people lose their livelihoods, what do we expect  
16 them to do?

17 There's already three million internally  
18 displaced people in Colombia. The cities can't absorb  
19 any more unskilled workers. There are no jobs for  
20 these people.

21 There's no, you know, alternative  
22 development programs to speak of because we don't  
23 control the countryside so it is not safe to do those  
24 kinds of things.

25 What I observe happening is that these

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1 people are going deeper into the Amazon, planting more  
2 coca, more productive varieties of coca that get much  
3 higher yield than the stuff we originally eradicated.

4 A number of them are joining the illegal armed  
5 actors, the FARC and the AUC.

6 You know so what are the options left to  
7 these people? We're talking about tens of thousands  
8 of individuals, many of which are families.

9 And the young, able-bodied ones, instead  
10 of us bringing them into the fold of the state to show  
11 them that the state offers them something better, we  
12 are eroding the legitimacy of the central government  
13 and driving them, perhaps unintentionally, into the  
14 arms of our officially declared enemies, the armed  
15 actors.

16 DIRECTOR WALTERS: Yes. I think that that  
17 is a very important question. I'm glad we got to it  
18 while I'm here because I think it is also -- a version  
19 of that question is also the argument against  
20 eradication everywhere because it generally is in  
21 places where governments have weak or no control.

22 And, therefore, the view is that if you  
23 actually do something against this, what you do is  
24 radicalize and increase the security problem you have  
25 because now the government is giving these people a

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1 reason not only just to avoid the government but to be  
2 active antagonists. So they will be driven into the  
3 arms of anti-government forces. They will arm  
4 themselves.

5 And I think in this case, Colombia has  
6 done three things that are important and that are  
7 differently directed. One is they have done a lot of  
8 alternative development. Some of it funded by us. A  
9 lot of it funded by others. Some of it their own  
10 projects in areas where there were real alternatives.

11 And I think they have also been clear, as  
12 we are, that we think ultimately opening trade -- we  
13 have the provisional agreement for trade products  
14 related to compensating for the narcotics problem --  
15 but ultimately trade agreements are important. And  
16 important for expanding economic activity that is  
17 durable and brings people into a growing economy.

18 Secondly, what President Uribe has done in  
19 some cases -- not in all provinces -- but where there  
20 are people that are in isolated places where it really  
21 isn't feasible to grow something else -- and you are  
22 right, in some of the places where coca is grown,  
23 where they slash and burn triple canopy rain forest,  
24 the soil is very fragile and it is not economic, it's  
25 not capable of bringing to market, but even it's not

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1 long term -- you can't even grow coca there long term.

2 You grow a few crops then you slash and  
3 burn another area of rain forest and grow it somewhere  
4 else because you can't sustain it. In those  
5 environments, he has as a temporary measure, asked  
6 families to stay there, the so-called Forest Guards  
7 Program -- asked families to stop growing, stay there,  
8 and allow the jungle to reforest.

9 And this is another program where they say  
10 he can't do this. They will cheat. They won't accept  
11 this. He's got thousands of people around the country  
12 doing it. And, again, it has to be monitored. It has  
13 to not be a fraud. There has to be some consequences.

14 But it is a way of buffering the time for  
15 other economic alternatives and other things to come  
16 into place. And yet insist that you do maximum  
17 progress against the source of the money and the  
18 corruption and the violence.

19 But in addition, I think he has also been  
20 candid and said, you know, there are going to be areas  
21 where people came in in a kind of gold rush. They  
22 came into areas where you can't support with  
23 legitimate economic activity what is going on.

24 And he and other senior officials there  
25 have said -- and he met with them face to face, as you

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1 no doubt know, and said go back to where you came  
2 from. Yes, there may be some transitional hardship.  
3 But the harm this does to the country is greater than  
4 what we can tolerate by taking half measures.

5 And, again, it doesn't necessarily  
6 convince everybody. I think he understands that and  
7 we understand that.

8 But he is trying to give maximum clarity  
9 and maximum number of pathways. But he is also  
10 accepting the fact that the fact that some choices are  
11 going to be harsh is inevitable.

12 And the tendency to want to say well, you  
13 know -- there is a tendency in the way we discuss this  
14 even in fairly high levels of Congressional debate  
15 sometimes that the only moral way to stop somebody  
16 from growing a product which the only purpose of which  
17 is to poison other poor people in other places is to  
18 give them an equal or greater value product side by  
19 side.

20 That is ludicrous. It cannot be done.  
21 And the issue here is are you going to accept that  
22 poisoning other people is a legitimate activity that  
23 needs to be accepted and rewarded? Obviously we want  
24 development.

25 Obviously we want people to have a future.

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1       They want to have a future. They want to have a free  
2 government. And they want to be able to support  
3 their families.

4               We need to provide pathways for that. But  
5 we need to also say there is a moral culpability to  
6 being involved in this business. From those who plant  
7 it to those who process it to those who pull the  
8 trigger and kill people who get in the way. That is  
9 linked.

10              That has been an argument, frankly, that  
11 President Karazai in Afghanistan has used to get not  
12 all but some people to say I've got a moral problem  
13 with growing poppy. It's not that this is people far  
14 away and it is their problem. Don't use it. I've got  
15 to take responsibility.

16              So I think both in terms of our trying to  
17 take the consumer in the United States through ads we  
18 did and others saying you fund terrorism.

19              You take drugs. You take responsibility.  
20       You fund people who kill judges. And get people  
21 killed in drive by shootings and stray bullets. You  
22 fund people who overturn institutions of democracy and  
23 take away rights of people you care about.

24              You can't pretend that you are not linked  
25 to that. And, of course, people who are using --

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1 that's outrageous. Except that it is true.

2 And I think that it is very important not  
3 only to have kind of clear goals on this. But I do  
4 think the moral lines that we draw here, which are  
5 hard to draw -- we don't like them and we have reasons  
6 -- sometimes personal reasons to not want to draw them  
7 -- but we have to be willing to make that as a  
8 foundation.

9 I think that's what President Uribe shows.

10 And that's why I came to talk about that is it is not  
11 just hey look, this guy has got economic development,  
12 more security, less human rights violations. You  
13 know, why don't we get more President Uribes?

14 It's -- I think the importance is partly  
15 the process. We can't clone President Uribe -- leave  
16 aside that debate.

17 (Laughter.)

18 DIRECTOR WALTERS: But what we can do is,  
19 I think, learn that it is not just about finding this,  
20 you know, rare individual and having a country make  
21 him their leader.

22 It's about things that he's been willing  
23 to do to be clear-headed about what is right and  
24 wrong, what constellation of policies, hard and not  
25 necessarily liked, have to be put together, and then

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1 aggressively implementing them in a relatively short  
2 period of time.

3 That requires skill but also, I think, you  
4 aren't going to get more of that if you don't tell  
5 people that's what you got to do. You know it's a  
6 hard job but you're going to have to paint this fence  
7 -- and the whole fence today. Not half the fence.  
8 Not two-thirds of the fence. Not whatever you feel  
9 like doing. And then you say well, I did my job. I  
10 made a gesture. I'm out of here.

11 That's what you got to do. And that's  
12 what we have to -- if we don't drive policies that way  
13 with that kind of integrity, I think we don't get the  
14 results we need. And then the problem in this area is  
15 if you fall short, you really are kind of shoveling  
16 sand.

17 And that's the difference that President  
18 Uribe has made. He has shown that you can do it.  
19 And, I think, he has represented the best in what we  
20 can hope to do in this area. And we want to replicate  
21 it.

22 Thank you for letting me spend some time  
23 with you.

24 (Applause.)

25 AMBASSADOR DAREMBLUM: We want to thank

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1 Director Walters for his very enlightening and  
2 educating message this morning. We want to thank  
3 Director Walters' staff for their cooperation in  
4 organizing this event.

5 And we would like to invite you to share  
6 some refreshments with us. And thank you very much  
7 for being here this morning. Thank you.

8 (Whereupon, the above-entitled address was  
9 concluded at 11:09 a.m.)  
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